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hover near them and are commemorated by them. Closely connected with this is the propitiatory aspect of the rite, which is at the same time a prophylactic against the wrath of all ancestors as constellated in the figure of a devouring Guardian Ghost. In the closely associated megalithic ritual in South Raga described by Tattevin,[1] those demanding special propitiation are the male representatives of the maternal line such as the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother, whose favoured position under the former system of matrilineal descent has been undermined and to a large extent overthrown by the system of overt patrilineal descent, that, coming from the south, is the dominating feature of the latest cultural wave to have overtaken this part of Melanesia and the distribution of which in the North-Central New Hebrides coincides very closely with that of the Maki. In this sense the Maki also is a kinship rite of the highest significance, and in its component sub-rites also includes the ritual payment of debts to a great number of living relatives, chief among whom are the mother's brother and the wife's father.

Coupled with this is the effort to achieve immortality implicit in the attempt to ward off the evil activities of the Guardian Ghost, who is an earthbound creature guarding the cave through which the ghost of the dead man must pass on his way to the Land of the Dead, and who will devour him if not duly propitiated by the lifelong performance of these rites, supported by sacrifices performed by the dead man's kinsman during the ritual carried out at his death, and by the further presentation of a gift by the ghost of the dead man himself. This effort to escape the annihilating influence of the grave and rise superior to earthly considerations is further expressed in the identification of each individual performing the rite with the mythical hawk who presides over the rites and whose image adorns the shrines built in honour of the ancestral ghosts as well as the place of retreat to which the celebrants retire after their ritual re-birth.

Every step in this ritual is further accompanied by singing and dancing of the most elaborate kind expressing the whole gamut of emotions, accompanied by rhythms played on an orchestra of slit gongs formed from tree trunks hollowed out by means of a longitudinal slit. These gongs, many feet higher than a man, are in Malekula planted upright in the ground, and are carved at the top to represent a face of which the upper end of the slit takes the place of the mouth. These gongs thus represent ancestors, and the sounds issuing from the slit when they are sounded are the ancestral voices urging and encouraging the living to dance themselves into that state of communal ecstasy that banishes personal affects and brings them into communion with collective forces passed on from the long line of those now dead, who have themselves performed these rites, to their representatives now living and dancing, and to the issue of these still to come.

[1] See p. 721.

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the progressive increase in skill in the rearing of tuskers (another feature to be discussed later), these have on the whole improved in quality during each successive generation, and the memory of these improvements, resulting in ever greater curvature of the tusks, adds to the prestige of those who sacrificed them and also to that of their descendants. These facts, handed down from father to son, together with the ancestral stone monuments standing in every village dancing-ground, form a historical framework by the aid of which the natives of the Small Islands preserve a mass of information regarding their past history, and of the personalities and exploits of their ancestors. Since most of the facts so preserved are centred round the successive performances of the Maki, there can be no doubt at all that this historical sense is part and parcel of the megalithic culture it represents. There is also very little doubt that it is closely connected with patrilineal descent, for in Vao, where patrilineal descent has been comparatively recently introduced and the dolmen representing the female principle is still the chief monument erected, the genealogies do not go back more than nine generations. In Atchin, on the contrary, where patrilineal influence is stronger and monoliths representing the male principle have largely supplanted the former use of the dolmen as the chief sacrificial monument, they go back nineteen generations to the slaying by two brothers of an aboriginal man-eating ogre named Ias associated with an older layer of culture, memories of which still survive in South Raga, where legends are told of mythical baby-snatchers called *ias*, and the same word is used also as an honourable title for successful killers of men.[1] The two Atchin brothers said to have killed Ias nineteen generations ago were clearly the last representatives on this island of the former system of overt matrilineal descent, since their successor Iwas was their sister's son, and it was this man Iwas who introduced the existing system of overt patrilineal descent through which the inhabitants of the chief village on this now patrilocal island trace kinship with him, the youngest boy at the time of my visit belonging to the seventeenth generation of his descendants in the direct male line.

"STONE MEN"

The importance of monoliths in tracing descent is due almost certainly to the fact discussed on p. 699, that these monuments, now consisting of plain coral blocks, for the most part undressed, represent what at one time in the history of this culture were stone statues carved to represent the dead. Thus some of the monoliths erected for the higher ranks in the district of Seniang in South-West Bay (which in turn were derived,

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 409, 410; also 2, 1931, Tales XXIX, p. 879 and XXX, pp. 880-1. The same personage figures in the mythology of Oba as the man-eating ogre Taso (Codrington, 3, pp. 398-402).

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as already stated, from Lambumbu, some twenty miles up the coast) are still carved to represent most parts of the human figure, while on those set up for some of the lower though still elevated ranks the carving is restricted to mere representations of the human face. This would explain the phenomenon already mentioned that is found all over Malekula, that the ghosts of all ancestors who have previously performed the rite inhabit or hover near these monoliths. This belief in the in-dwelling of the ghosts of the dead in stone, well known in many forms of megalithic culture, has, in Malekula and the surrounding islands, been extended in two directions. In the first place, any natural coral or stone block of unusually large dimensions or otherwise interesting appearance is apt to be indicated as the dwelling-place, or even the petrified person, of some mythical hero. This is particularly the case in those districts observing the later forms of Maki ritual in which monoliths are the chief type of monument erected. Thus on Atchin the Guardian Ghost, who, for reasons given below, is thought to be a woman, is conceived of in two different ways. In the first place, she is thought of as a culture-heroine who once lived on the island and, as such, is represented by a very ancient dressed monolith standing by the roadside at the site of what was once part of the chief village but which has since been abandoned, and by the side of this is another dressed monolith representing her daughter. In the second place, she is, however, thought of as the mythological Being already described who stands ready to devour the ghosts of the dead if not duly propitiated, and in this capacity is in the Atchin and Wala versions of the story [1] conceived of as dwelling in a great natural coral block standing on the reef forty miles away down the coast of Malekula at a spot whence the dead of all the Small Islands who have duly performed all the necessary rites take their departure to the Land of the Dead situated in the crater of the great active volcano on Ambrim. In the same way her ten mythical grandsons who are among the chief culture-heroes on Atchin are to be seen today in the form of ten coral rocks of varying shape and size on the coast of that island. Yet other culture-heroes, many of whose names begin with the syllable *Bat* meaning "stone," are said to have been coral blocks capable of detaching themselves from the surrounding reef and travelling to and fro between Atchin and certain other islands whence their descendants are said to have come.

Finally, among the Big Nambas inhabiting the North Malekulan plateau, this quality is shared even by living men whose ancestry is of particular importance, as seen in the fact reported by Miss Cheesman that the chiefs of at least one village in this district all have the same syllable, here pronounced *Pat*, suffixed to their personal names.[2]

[1] For a comparison of this story with that told on Vao, see pp. 218 ff.

[2] Cheesman, p. 181. This name is probably also equivalent to *Ambat* and *Kwat* (see pp. 209, 493).

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ancestral ghosts around whose cult the ritual which takes place in the dancing-ground centres.

Turning our backs now on the Lower Side, let us, with the aid of the panoramic view seen in the Frontispiece and Plates II and III, survey the high place where the chief sacrifices take place. From end to end the ground is about 300 feet long. Along the whole of the Upper Side, built on the slight elevation which forms one side of the valley, is a continuous platform of coral blocks carefully fitted together, rising to a height of 10 to 12 feet from the ground. This, though in appearance a continuous structure, is in fact a succession of contiguous stone-platforms on which the most important tusked boars are sacrificed.[1] On the extreme left is the enormous banyan tree already mentioned, some of the aerial roots of which have been carved away so as to form a kind of cave within the tree, where, on a part of the stone-platform rather lower than the rest, cannibal feasts were formerly held.

To the right of this in front of the stone-platform is a small dolmen and other upright stones, and to the right of these again stands proudly the orchestra of upright slit gongs, huge trunks of forest trees transported from the mainland, hollowed out through a longitudinal slit so as to leave only a thin shell of the original trunk. Above the slit is carved an image representing the face of the ancestral ghost, whose voice speaks when the gong is sounded by hitting one side of the slit with a soft-wood stick. The nose of the image is pierced, and from it hang the jaws of the tusked pigs sacrificed in its honour on the day of consecration. The tallest of these gongs is about 12 feet high, not counting the base buried in the ground. Since no sacred object is ever removed, but simply allowed to rot where it stood, the remains of old gongs are also seen, two leaning to the right, one lying in front, now used as a seat for casual use. Four different sizes of gongs go to make up an orchestra, and the complicated and indescribably stirring rhythms they beat out are the wonder of all who have the good fortune to hear them.[2]

Beyond the gongs, supported on three stakes, is a rack displaying the jaws of tusked pigs recently sacrificed in one of the innumerable performances that go to make up the protracted Maki rite. To the right of this is another small dolmen, and beyond this again is a cylindrical cane structure set up to protect a special yam and banana tree planted during the mortuary rites for an old man.[3]

To the right of these again are three large dolmens. These, as will be described later,[4] were erected at successive performances of the Maki rite (as in the case of gongs, no sacred stone object is ever removed), and are the stone altars at which other important tusked pigs are sacrificed.

[1] For details of the sacrifices performed here and at the other stones see pp. 413 ff., 430.
[2] For details see pp. 311 ff.
[3] See p. 350.
[4] See p. 414.

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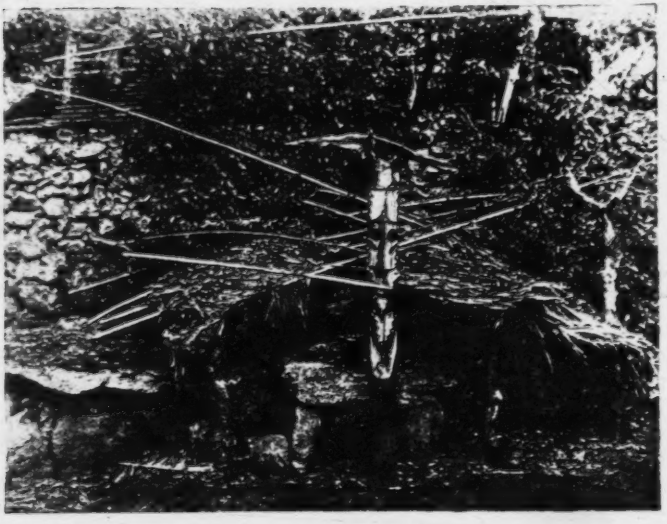

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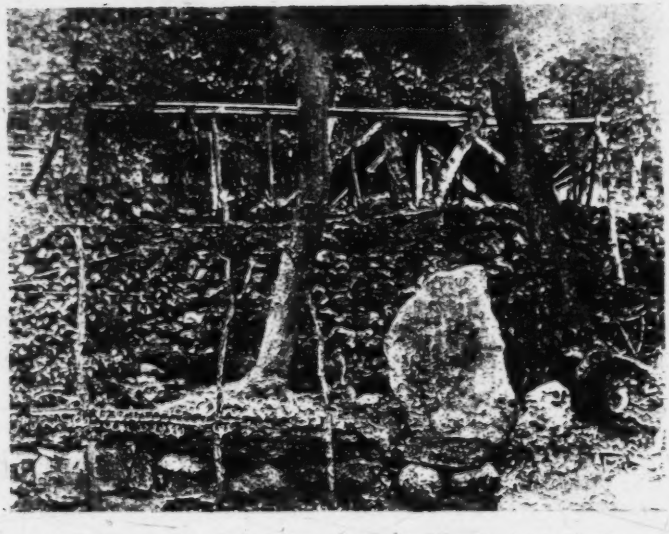

1. Dolmens at Pete-hul. The roof supported by the ancestor-image on the right has collapsed, causing the hawk-image over its head to fall awry. (*See Frontispiece*)

2. Large monolith and small dolmens on which lie the remains of a rack displaying the tusked jaws of sacrificial boars. Note the stone-platform behind. (*See Frontispiece*)

[facing p. 36]

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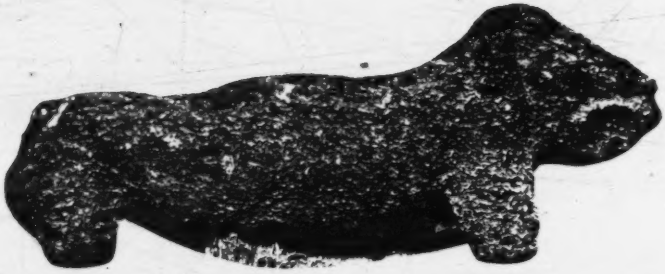

[415]

1. Stone image of a tusked boar from the mainland village of Tolamp
2. Stone image of a tusked boar said to have come from Oba and to have served as a kava bowl, now in the Basel Museum für Völkerkunde. (*Sarasin*, see List of Authors)

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to sacrifice a boar advanced to a grade too far beyond his own in the Maki hierarchy, the passage of the boar's soul into his would overwhelm him, and disaster would be sure to follow.[1]

Mass Sacrifice

Information regarding the details of sacrifice will be included in the chapters on the numerous sacrificial rites, and in particular that of the Maki. When it is realised that, on a single occasion at the culmination of the Maki rite, in addition to the circle-tuskers and tuskers of yet higher rank sacrificed by individual men, there is a mass sacrifice by the men of at least 100 tusked boars on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground as well as of 100 gelded tuskers on the Lower Side, the reader will be able in some measure to gauge the immense importance of these animals in native culture.

Stone Image of a Pig

Since I took no special photographs of live pigs on Vao, I here reproduce one of the stone image of a pig which I was shown resting on a dolmen erected in front of a Lodge in the now deserted mainland village of Tolamp, the final resting-place of the inhabitants of the submerged island from which this village took its name, before the last remnants of them took up their abode on Vao.[2] The Lodge has long since rotted away, and the dolmen now stands alone, half-covered with bush. The image is 19 inches long, and is called *uuli*, said to be equivalent to the pidgin-English "larrikin," or ruffian, a term recalling the character of the Guardian Ghost. In the short time at my disposal, I was unable to discover what purpose it served. The tusks are clearly indicated, and there are two shallow depressions on the back. I asked whether they might be for kava, which, though not drunk by the people of Vao, is so used by the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau, but my informant was unable to say whether this was the case or not. There is a record of two "pigs carved of stone" kept in a taboo place belonging to one of the Lodges in Matanavat, on the north coast of Malekula, said to be used for magical purposes.[3] The only other example of a stone pig from the New Hebrides known to me, now in the Basel Museum für Völkerkunde, is said to come from Oba, and to have served as a kava bowl. Its back is hollowed out as though to receive

[1] Compare Deacon (4, p. 548), who says that in Seniang, the soul of a pig of well-developed tusk-curvature, such as a re-entrant-tusker (*imasp*) or higher grade, "is powerful, more powerful even than the spirit of some human beings. Thus if a small boy were to partake of the flesh of a pig of high grade, the *nivinēn* [soul] of the animal would be stronger than the *nimwinin* [soul] of the child and would devour it, so that the boy would die." (The souls of pigs and human beings are called by different names.)

[2] See p. 58.

[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 59. Their magical use is not described.

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liquid, save in two places which are indented in the same way as the Tolamp image. Codrington also mentions a vision experienced by a native after the death of the last heathen chief of Walurigi, in North-East Oba. This man's son had become a Christian, so could not succeed to the chieftainship. When the chief died, "a certain man attempted to take his place; he went into the late chief's sacred haunt . . . in which he used to have his intercourse with the . . . spirits, and he declared that he heard someone whistle to him there. He told the people also that afterwards in the night he felt something come upon his breast, which he took in his hands, and found to be a stone in shape like the distinguishing part of a valued kind of pig," [1] in other words, as appears from a footnote, the sexual organs of an intersex pig.

The Pig as Symbol of Fertility

This raises the subject of pigs as fertility symbols. I shall have more to say about this in future volumes. A tale told on Vao, where intersex pigs are not bred, will suffice to illustrate this aspect of native thought with regard to ordinary sows.

Story of a Tolamp man who begot a child on the wife of a friend from Pweter-ges, at the latter's request, because he was impotent.

There was a man of Tolamp,[2] called Ter-ter, and another of Pweter-ges, near Lawor, whose name was Burial. And the two were friends. And Burial came to Ter-ter, and said, "You have plenty of pigs, and I have no children." Ter-ter said, "That is so." And Burial again said, "I have plenty of wives, but cannot get any children. I will buy yet another wife, a young one. Will you come and lie with her, and make a child for me?" So they appointed a day, and Burial said, "You come to Ghoramp (the beach on the mainland near Wala), and I will come too and bring my wife with me, and then you will be able to manage things."

So Ter-ter went to Ghoramp, and Burial brought his wife half-way, telling her to go on down to Ghoramp, where she would find a man, to whom she was to deliver herself. She went down, but could not see him, for he had concealed himself above the cave called *barang na ta-mat* (through which the dead must pass on their journey to the Land of the Dead).[3] She waited and waited, and at last turned to go away. But then he

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 57.

[2] The story refers to a period subsequent to the submergence of Tolamp, when its inhabitants had founded the last of the villages bearing this name on the mainland opposite Vao.

[3] See pp. 217, 227. He chose this spot, which lies half-way between the two villages, presumably so that the woman should think he was a ghost, in order to avoid complications with the husband.

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171 Speiser therefore deduces a direct cultural connexion between Nias, Arue and Malekula, which appears to have been

(*a*) recent, owing to the comparatively recent development of the practice in Malekula, to which reference has already been made; and

(*b*) direct, since there is no evidence of it on intermediate islands.

In Arue the rearing of tusked boars is the prerogative of chiefs. Details of rite correspond with those of the Maki in Malekula.

We have already seen how, in the New Hebrides, the public graded society, depending as it does on the sacrifice of tusked boars, was originally an aristocratic institution, as it still is among the Big Nambas of North Malekula, where only hereditary chiefs take rank. In the same way, in Arue "only hereditary chiefs have the right to rear tusked boars, the rearing of these being forbidden to commoners, who are only allowed to possess ordinary pigs. The sacrifice of tusked boars was performed for a chief's son by his father." So also does the ritual of Arue agree in a number of details with that of Malekula. Among other things, the Vao custom of mass sacrifice by those of lower ranks while those of high degree take new rank by sacrificing special tuskers, is paralleled in Arue by the fact that, while the chiefs sacrificed their tusked boars, "the commoners brought their ordinary pigs, which are then sacrificed at the same time as the tuskers." In Arue too, as in Vao, parts of the sacrificed tusker are distributed to others to eat, and "those who had received the head must take off its jaw and return it to the sacrificer." Again, "after a man's death, the son would sacrifice tusked boars at his father's grave with the expressed intent that the boars' souls should provide food for his father in the after-world." [1] From this and other evidence, Speiser is justified in drawing the conclusion that the chiefly ritual in Arue represents at least one link in the chain by which the ritual of the Maki was formed, and particularly that part of it that is connected with the rearing of boars with artificially elongated tusks.

Connexion of boars' tusks with daemonic powers.

171 532 Speiser also makes some interesting observations on the connexion of pigs with a destructive daemonic power. At the Malekulan end of the scale he instances the well-known masks and images connected with secret societies in the southern and south-western parts of the island, which are also those in which the human head is artificially elongated. The masks represent human heads, and to the mouths of these, as well as of some of the images, boars' tusks are attached, giving them both the

[1] Speiser, 6, p. 162.

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appearance of a being which is half man, half boar.[1] In some cases also such tusks are even attached to the remodelled elongated skulls of dead ancestors.[2] He then points out that, while in Malekula the tusks are attached only to images and masks, and to the skulls of the dead, in Arue they are actually worn by men, and that this practice is intimately connected with that of human sacrifice. I have already mentioned how, in Arue as in Malekula, the jaw of a sacrificed boar must be returned to the chief who sacrificed it. In Arue the tusks are then removed and bound together, after which "the chief gives them to one of his followers, who must then kill a man, and, in the act of killing him, must hold the tusks in his mouth." Only by this means do the tusks become sanctified, and fit to be worn by the chief as his badge of sacrifice. This practice was also extended to the use of boars' tusks as amulets in war, when "they were divided among the warriors, and during battle, as at the time of their consecration, each warrior took a pair of them in his mouth in such a way that the tusks appeared to grow out of the corners of his mouth" as out of a pig's jaw. In this way warriors acquired strength for the fight. In Nias, where metals are known, a later development of the same custom is seen in the "remarkable band" worn by warriors "over the mouth, from which issue metal objects in the form of tusks." [3]

We have seen how, in Malekula, tusks are attached to the remodelled skulls of the dead. Masks and images also invariably represent either ghosts or mythological figures (which are but the collective figures of ghosts), and, as we have already seen from the Vao evidence, there is no doubt about the connexion existing between tusked boars and the Guardian Ghost. It is therefore not surprising that Speiser should note the same phenomenon in Nias, by calling attention to the "countless representations," in Indonesia, "of daemons, nearly all of which are distinguished by the large tusks issuing from their jaws." As he points out, "by binding on the tusks the Nias warrior clearly makes himself into a daemon," and goes on to suggest that "the rearing of boars with artificially elongated tusks may be due to a desire to represent daemonic attributes." He adds: "tusked boars themselves may once have been regarded as daemonic." [4] The truth of this last supposition we have seen amply borne out in the evidence from Vao.

[1] Examples may be seen in the British Museum and in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology. See also Layard, 2, Plate XVII, No. 3; also numerous examples illustrated in Speiser, 3, Plate 92 onwards, and Deacon, 4, Figs. 23, 24, 26, and Plates XIV, XV, XVI.

[2] Speiser, 3, Plate 81, No. 11.

[3] Speiser, 6, pp. 159-60.

[4] Speiser, 6, p. 160.

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PLATE XII

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Stone-platform at Norohure with ancestor-image surmounted by hawk-image forming the front of the ridge-pole supporting the roof

[Facing p. 271]

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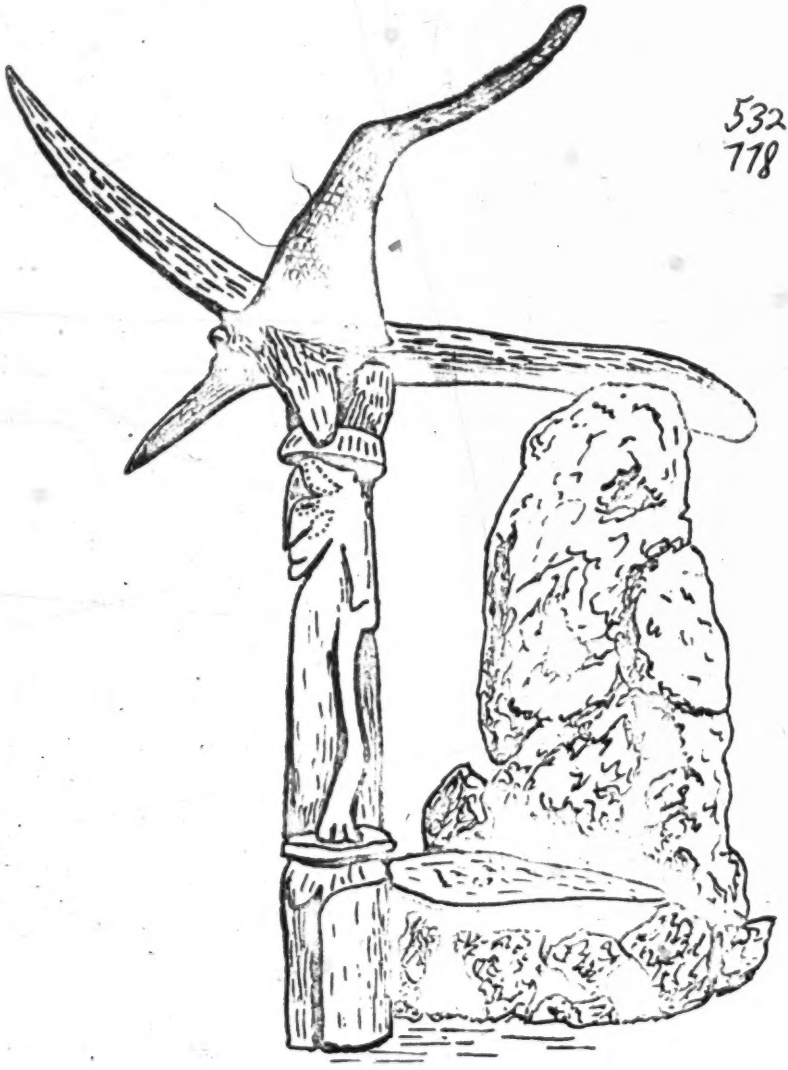

FIG. 41

Shrine erected for the monolith-Maki recently adopted from Atchin by the village of Norohure on the Inferior Side of Vao. Each shrine consists of wooden image, dolmen and monolith. Note the hawk-image (with four wings) resting on the forked hat surmounting the image, and forming the front part of the ridge-pole of which the rear end rests on the monolith. The thatched roof supported by the ridge-pole has rotted away.

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of the *pangium edule* strung together on bands of soft plaited string. The note of these is softer than that of the Morris bells of England, since the comparative shrillness of the metal is absent, and when, as sometimes happens, as many as a hundred feet strike the ground together, the sound is at once voluminous and sweet.

The performances usually occur at dawn on the day of an important rite after the close of the preceding all-night dance. The occasions of which I have record on Vao are the morning of the day on which a new set of gongs is put up, and the morning of the Thirtieth Day after the main sacrifice both of Low and High Maki.[1]

They are probably performed on other occasions as well, for each *na-leng* has a special name, and a women's dance called *rokaik*,[2] connected with the killing of home-bred circle-tuskers and performed on the day of the chief sacrifice at High Maki, was said to be the same as the Atchin *na-leng wishewin*, or women's "*na-leng*."

Godefroy also records that "during the interminable Maki rites they perform a dance which takes them to *bakeran*," which means the sky, or "heaven" as he terms it.[3] This may be another *na-leng*, or may refer to one of the major Maki dances such as *Taure*.

On each occasion proceedings open with the performance of a series of mumming plays. These are performed in rotation by the members of the visiting villages, both from Vao and from the mainland and other Small Islands, who have already been taking part in the all-night dance. These may be either tragedies, that is to say plays based on mythological subjects though treated as a rule in a burlesque way, or else pantomimes representing everyday matters such as fishing or feeding fowls, or skits on recent events. The mythological origin of these mumming plays is shown by the fact that, in addition to the wearing of ankle-rattles, each actor either wears a mask (sure sign that he is a ghost), or else has his face covered by a veil consisting of strips of the white inner bark of certain trees tied on to a bamboo frame that rests on the head, on to the top of which is fastened a modelled or carved image of the man, fish, bird, or even inanimate object such as a boat, that he may for the time being represent. Thus clothed and disguised, the actors play their parts, always observing one rule, that they never remain still, but when supposed to be standing they must nevertheless dance, and when moving from one place to another must never walk or run, but must proceed with swift shuffling steps that cause their ankle-rattles to maintain a ceaseless musical clatter.

After the mumming plays are over, it is the turn of the home-people to perform a figure-dance. In this the main body of dancers is formed by the Maki-men themselves. They form, however, only the chorus. The parts of the individual star-dancers are taken by men of the introducing "line," the Maki-men's "fathers" or "sons."

[1] See p. 402. [2] See Song 5, p. 385. [3] See p. 214.

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of the great sacrifice, *Taur Na-mbak* is danced by the members of this "line" every night and all night long, with the exception of the penultimate night, when it ceases at midnight in order to afford some rest for the participants in view of the twenty-four hours' ceaseless rites beginning with *Taur Na-mbak* at dusk on the Eve of the great sacrifice until the final consummation at sundown the following day. Parties from all the other Vao villages and from the mainland and the neighbouring Small Islands come also to dance with them in due order on certain nights, but this is not like the usual dancing in rotation, since, as will be seen, it is combined with the delivery of presentation-pigs at the home-village, and these parties dance only for a short time, leaving it to the men of the introducing "line" to carry on the dance till dawn.

Ancestral image surmounted by hawk-image erected in front of dolmen and the whole shrine so formed is roofed.

Some time during this period, about ten days before the Sacrificial Day, a wooden ancestor-image is erected in front of the dolmen, and, resting on it, a ridge-pole formed of the trunk of a small tree whose buttress roots are carved to represent the head and wings of a hawk. This ridge-pole supports a roof which covers the dolmen, transforming the whole monument into a shrine. I have unfortunately no record of the rites accompanying its erection.

Measures taken to ensure the Presence of the Correct Number and Grade of Tusked Boars for the Mass Sacrifice

This period is also one of intense activity directed towards ensuring the proper supply of sacrificial animals. The very finest tuskers of all, those which are to confer the highest ranks, such as Melteg-amu and Melteg-aul, on those chief Maki-men who sacrifice them at the dolmen itself, are bred at home, preferably from sows owned by the sacrificer himself. Since no man, however, actually possesses at any one moment a great number of tuskers, and the economic scheme is based largely on presentations and the most complicated system of credits and debts, many, if not the greater number, of the 100 tusked boars to be sacrificed at the stakes do not enter the sacrificer's possession till they are presented to him on the actual day of sacrifice. Chief among these are those valuable tuskers which are due for presentation to him by his relatives-by-marriage, most notably by his daughters' husbands and his brothers-in-law, during the rite of "circling" that immediately precedes the sacrifice. These have, it will be remembered, previously been bargained for at great length, the exact curvature of tusk being specified and often the actual animal agreed on; and the intending sacrificer has, moreover, already done, or should have done, his part by giving the prospective

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PLATE XXIV

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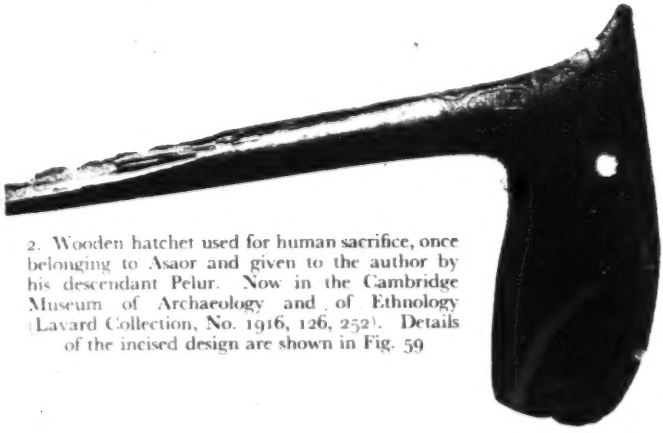
1. Rain-stone used in the weather magic described on p. 635, of which two sides are carved to represent the human face, the third a shark, and the fourth (not seen in the illustration) a caterpillar

782
411
531



2. Wooden hatchet used for human sacrifice, once belonging to Asaor and given to the author by his descendant Pelur. Now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology (Layard Collection, No. 1916, 126, 252). Details of the incised design are shown in Fig. 59

[facing p. 623]

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
OO12 Malekula OO12
Small Islands

liminary grades in order to enhance the dignity of those few who had reached the highest rank. In Atchin, on the other hand, owing to the communal nature of the rite and the mutual help afforded by every member of the village community to every other member, a contrary process was at work, the lower grades being already in process of elimination before the arrival of the white man. With the acquisition of the new wealth this process became speeded up, with the result that by the time of my visit they had all disappeared, so that each and every man, youth, and male piccaninny on the island who was capable of sacrificing a pig belonged to the grade *Mal*, much to the chagrin of those in other communities who had taken a lifetime achieving it. Even the older men on Atchin felt somewhat abashed by the general levelling-up, and, in order to assert their own superiority, a new supernumerary grade had been invented, called *Mel-teg*, literally "The *Mal* who stays at home," referring to the vows of abstinence taken after the *Maki*. It is amusing and significant to note that, according to Mr. Harrisson, the young men have again asserted their equality and that now most men on Atchin possess the title *Mel-teg*, and apparently for the moment, in this respect at any rate, democracy has reasserted itself, for there is no record of any further supernumerary grade.

The younger generation of natives made use of the white man's coming not only in the direction of freeing themselves from the domination of the older men. With the acute dramatic sense which is the essence of their culture they had also made up to some extent for other deprivations which the white man had brought about by using both him and his inventions for the enhancement of their already rich ritual life. Pantomimic representations of various aspects of the white man's activities had been incorporated into the dramatic repertory of the *na-leng* plays and dances, muskets were used to heighten the effect of ritual combats during the sex-initiatory expedition to Omba, into the more serious initiation rites on Atchin, in which hoaxes are performed on the initiates, more than one white man's *tour de force* was incorporated, and many of the masks and images were made lurid by means of Reckett's blue.

It is however significant to note that, even in the case of such a wide departure from native tradition as the abandonment of the manufacture of their own long-distance canoes in favour of white men's whale-boats, the old consecration rites were still continued. At one such consecration rite at which I was present over sixty valuable tusked boars were sacrificed, and the supreme sacrifice was that of a bullock, obtained from a trader, for which all the complicated sacrificial ritual was performed; while in the pantomimic dances the skulls of a bullock and two goats were used as masks.

One final word as to the causes of depopulation. At the time of my visit the population was on the decline. Of physical causes the chief was, as has been seen, the introduction of the musket which turned comparatively harmless semi-ritual combats into lethal battles. Second to this, the introduction of diseases, mainly of dysentery, which wiped out whole families. As to the psychological causes put forward by Rivers and others but denied by Mr. Harrisson, all I am able to say quite definitely is that there was at that time a general belief among the older men and some of the young ones that the race was doomed. The old men remembered the day when native culture was the highest achievement of the human race as they conceived it. The appearance